241 [412] machete (*machit*) or the *luk*, a sort of curved machete with a long handle, are the implements needed. The cutting of the grass from the plot where the milpa had been the previous year is *selab*; the cutting of bush grown for three or four years is *sok-uej*. The work of cutting the bush is done by the entire family, including children of seven or eight years old.

[221] [412] The planting is done between April and May after the first rains, with a long stick whose tip is hardened by fire or protected by a metal point. The seed must [242] come from large, healthy ears whose tips have been cut off because they have small [824] corn. The *olote*, or corncob, is either kept or thrown away at a distance to avoid its being used as fuel, for this would hurt the milpa which then would produce ears with broken kernels.

241 462 785 834 The task of planting is a very delicate matter, to be performed after fasting and sexual abstinence. It is exclusively a man's affair. A great banquet is served at noon, 241 574 generally outdoors as the hut interiors are small, to the friends and neighbors who will participate as helpers. Sometimes as [476] many as 10 men help to plant a friend's milpa. The meal is offered "precisely when the sun stops for a moment midway on its run and the doors of the Church of Heaven are opened, from where the quality of the banquet is observed." This is *s-uelil-abal* ('meal of the planting').

241 262 272 574 [263] When things are properly done, the meal consists of a number of items. First the *atole* (*pajal-ul*) is served, which is slightly sour and sweetened with *panela*. As "companion" to this atole are tamales (*chenkul-uaj*), which are prepared with cornmeal and ground beans. It is said that both things are to be served together so that "the seed may penetrate deep into the ground."

241 252 262 574 After this preliminary snack comes what is considered the main course for each person: a hard-boiled egg in a thick reddish broth prepared from dough and ground chile dissolved in water; a large tortilla;

[P. 199-B]

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 201-A

boiled beans; other tamales (*petul*), which are made from dough and whole beans; and finally, still more atole. The atole is served not in individual *jicaras* but in two or three large ones (*batzil-booch*), which are passed from person to person. The same is done with the other foods; they are served in one or two large pots (*mucul pulato*) out of which everyone serves himself. This banquet is given only on the first day of the planting; if other days are required, the milpero himself does the planting.

Since weeds grow rapidly during the rain season, the milpa must be hoed twice before it reaches maturity. For this the luk or coa is used and also the hoe (*asron*), the same one used to break the soil before planting. The first weeding is done in June, the second between July and August. Women help their husbands in this chore and sometimes do it entirely themselves, since the men are in the habit of leaving for Tapachula to work as peons on the coffee plantations.

Also in the milpa beans of several varieties are planted: *chuil-chenek* (or *ibes*, according to the Ladinos); *botil*, a large common bean; *xakil-chenek* or *frijol de vara*; and the *x-luumil-chenek* or *frijol de la tierra*, thus called because it is a creeping plant.

Chile is planted on a separate lot, 15–20 m. square. The planting is done during the first weeks of March, in alternate years so that it will not coincide with the year when the people of Cancuc plant cotton. Chile planted by the people of Oxchuc is *dzajal-ik* or red chile.

Toward the end of August, the first fruits are ready (*unimajam* or *jilote*, according to Ladinos). These are received with great joy by the families which are by then lacking food. From each plant, which provides two or three *jilotes*, the farthest down is picked to let the other two grow bigger. These jilotes are boiled without salt and are eaten whole, including the husks.

[P. 201-A]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

mate butt of any joke, contemptible, and with no inherent rights. The native ceremonies and beliefs, even when closely parallel to their own, are considered mere ignorant superstitions. Only what is definitely Catholic is respected. Small shrines may be desecrated at will. Behind all this, mindful of past uprisings, lies a certain amount of definite fear of the subject people. There are, of course, many exceptions, especially among the more intelligent ranchers who from their patriarchal position or intimate relations have come to understand the natives as human beings.

The effect of all this on the Indian is suspicion of the ruling class, reluctance to impart information, distrust of friendly overtures. If one hails an Indian in the streets of a town, he will frequently run away. Once convinced, however, that an individual actually likes them, and is genuinely interested in them, their response is warm. We received many small favours and acts of friendship in notoriously hostile villages.

Fig. 103—El Real, Chis. Tzeltal girls.

In their culture these people belong to the general type characteristic of all Southern Mexico and at least the nearer parts of Guatemala. They depend primarily upon farming for their livelihood, with corn as the staple crop. Calabashes, melons, beans, tobacco, bananas, and cotton are raised. The farming is carried on by the same wasteful "milpa system" that has been described in Chapter XI, the old Maya method that was eventually responsible for the abandonment of many cities. In the case of the Bachajon, it has already become one cause for deserting their villages. The chief food is dried corn boiled with lime and ground by the women on the stone metates which were described in dealing with the Indians of San Martín Pajapa. It then may be baked on a flat griddle, making tortillas, or kept to drink with water as *posole*. The one universal tool and weapon is the machete, varying in form from tribe to tribe, but always made by Collins & Co., of Hartford—part of one of the most amazing industries in the world.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

stone, *ton-al-ha'*, ("water stone"). The other, *skaltca-muk* ("big metate") was made of an igneous stone called *hayáltcak*, brought from San Martín. The *manos*, or smaller stones used for grinding on these, were called *miscabtca* (fig. 290). To the left, opposite this table, was the fire, *kak'*, built of two broken ollas and two small rocks, placed so that the logs could be laid star-fashion between them, and close enough together to support the tortilla griddle or an olla (fig. 291). Outside the house was another fire, with only three stones, on which was drying a basket full of *pinole*, *tcilim*, a fruit which is mixed with cacao in a form of chocolate. Over the house fireplace racks, *baxtet*, were placed at the level of the eaves across the corner, and along the wall to the middle post, that things hung up there might be protected by the smoke from insects. All these things are indicated in the plan.

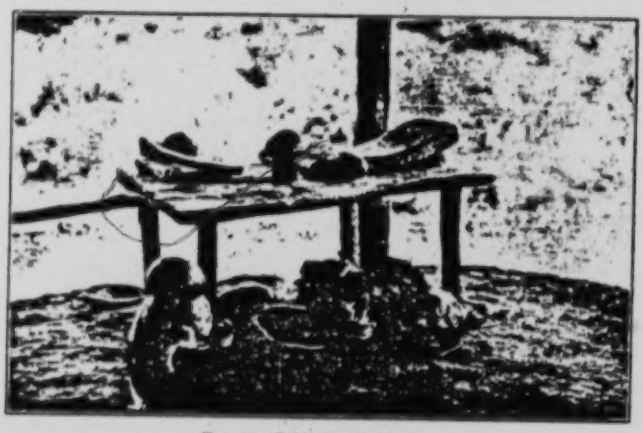

FIG. 290—Table with Metates.

A hammock, *aktci*, which we understood was not of native make, hung across the middle of the house. Two woven mats, *pOp*, the Spanish *petate*, lay on the beds. Beside this, the beds, and the table, the only thing that could properly be called furniture was a three-legged stool about 30 centimeters high, *matsumte*. Two mats of pounded bark, or tapa, *bat-te* ("bark tree"), or *bat manil tcahan*, were rolled up in a corner. First comers got the hammock to lie in, others sat on the low "squatting seats," *tsamate*, of which there were three, made each of half a log, peeled, and partially flattened on top, with a handle on one end.

The tortilla griddle was a flat, dish-like pottery affair, about 40 centimeters in diameter. There were five ollas, *ŏcom*, with plain

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

434 178 177 I can get one then. Last year I bought a transistor radio for nine hundred and ninety pesos. My wife said she would leave me if I got it because all [053] the children would get sick. But I got it anyway and no one was sick. I am stronger than my enemies."

Innovation on the consumption level is adding a stimulus to innovation in economic activities. The successful innovator must invent a rationale for his improved standards of living and then prove that he can survive the possible evil consequences of envy. The process of adoption is one of a shift in the incidence of choices made in the direction of improving levels of living. The new is often incorporated with the old rather than replacing it. For example, after the rough preparation has been done with the mill, [252] grinding stones are used for the final grinding of corn to get the dough [415] into the preferred consistency for making tortillas. Tin plates are used along with crockery and gourds. Some items are linked in change: for ex- [291] ample, tailored pants are worn only with buttoned shirts and belts and [096] with zippered jackets. The old forms are continued in a ceremonial con- [415] text: kotonču is preferred when a man undertakes an official role, and gourds are preferred to any other container for ceremonial foods. The technology of production lags behind the changes in consumption that have increased the need for greater income—agricultural tools have not been modified since the colonial period when the wooden plow, metal hoe, machete, and plow used with draft animals were added. Changes in consumption needs rather than in productive technology are expanding the economic horizons of the Indians.

Choices and Strategies in Agricultural Production

241 In agricultural and pottery production, decision-making concerning the use of land and labor resources is controlled not only by a traditional technology but more importantly by a given state of cognitive orientations that determines, in Goodenough's words (1966:54), "what states of affairs they have learned to discern, what they believe to be the relations between them, and what they understand to be the processes by which one state can be transformed into another." Agriculturalists have a fine perception

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970
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[R198-G]

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Plate 8. Women of a household and their helpers grinding corn and making tortillas with a press in preparation for a house ceremony. They are all dressed in the traditional costume. Most of such food preparation is done inside the house except at the time of large festivals. Photograph by Marcey Jacobson.

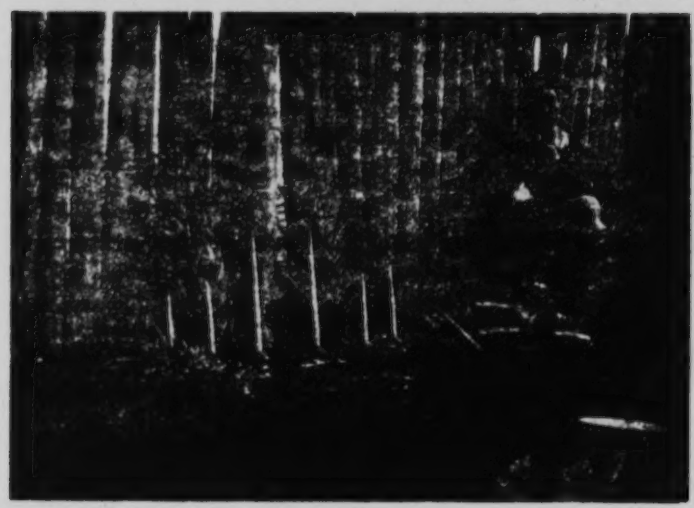

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Plate 9. Curer sitting next to the center post where he has just arranged the candles and branches of spring bushes in preparation for the house fiesta. The basket contains the protective crosses, bound with palm fronds, which he will nail on the house posts. The basin contains springwater, and the gourd in the foreground contains the powdered medicines which will be added to the water and drunk. Photograph by Marcey Jacobson.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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might have been his father, an uncle, or a godparent who had already served as alférez.

Buying festal foods. *The following items were purchased in the neighboring Ladino town of Himlol: 120 pesos' worth of bread; one-half a slaughtered bull for 600 pesos; 6 almudes of beans; 10 kilos of coffee; and 5 pesos' worth of brown sugar. If the alférez owned a bull, he slaughtered it and sold one half.*

Preparing liquor. *The alférez rented a still and, with the help of his father and brothers, distilled 7 garafones (126 liters) of liquor, using brown cane sugar.*

Preparing special clothing. *The following items were purchased or bought: jacket for 50 pesos; shirt for 55 pesos; hat for 30 pesos; pair of boots for 32 pesos; red waistband for 16 pesos; and red kerchief for 9 pesos.*

The hat was made by a man in the town. When the alférez went to ask him to do him the favor of making a hat, he brought 1 peso's worth of bread, 1 liter of trago, and 40 cents' worth of chocolate. The alférez borrowed black leather leggings and a black towel. To each of those who lent him clothing, he gave 1 liter of trago, 1 peso's worth of bread, and 40 cents' worth of chocolate. When he returned the clothing, he gave the same gifts.

The installation of the new alférez. *During the four days of the fiesta of the saint with which he was charged, the new alférez was initiated into his duties in office. In taking on each of the functions assigned to him, that "dialectical connection between the actor and his part, the person and his roles or status or office," was effected (Fortes 1959:57).*

The first day (Paswamal). *On the first day of every large fiesta,* Paswamal (*literally, "to make the boughs or decorations"*), *the women of the household and the sisters and sisters-in-law of the new alférez and his wife gathered in his house to cook the food. The men slaughtered the*

7t Nash E-5 (1957-1987) 1970

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bull, and the women prepared beef stew and made tortillas and coffee. The floor of the house was strewn with pine needles.

At noon, two alfereces led the procession of police, judges, síndico, and principales as they collected money for the fiesta. The alfereces held the banners with an embroidered cloth. The movements of the procession were initiated with church bells ringing and rockets set off by two junior mayordomos as they left the church and as they arrived at and left each of the seven "stands," locations marked by crosses at the intersections of the major streets of the village. When they arrived at each stand, the alfereces stood holding the banners and the other civil and religious officials sat on the side of the road, smoking and drinking. The five police scattered, going to collect 5 pesos from each household. When they returned, the síndico noted the amount received and the principales held the money in a tin tray.

When the group arrived back at the church at two-thirty, the alfereces put the banners in the rear corner of the church. They went to the altar rail, knelt and prayed, crossed themselves and kissed first the image of Santiago, then all the other images. The music of drum and flute was played in the church courtyard, and firecrackers were set off. A table was set up to the right of the door of the church, and there the money was counted. As the officials came out of the church, they made the rounds of the seated officials, greeting them with the pat?o?tan. The officials arranged themselves in the traditional pattern: The fiscal and town treasurer stood at the table counting the money before the assembled officials. The principales and judges, stood immediately before the table watching the fiscal and treasurer; their position indicated their guardian role. Bills of the same denomination were set in piles under stones to prevent their blowing away, and then tied into bundles with palm fronds. When all the money had been counted, the principales put it in a manila folder, and the treasurer wrapped this in a red kerchief. The striking of the church bells announced the end of the counting.

All the relatives—the yermanotak, or "brotherhood" group, including bilaterally-extended brothers and brothers-in-law and their wives, compadres, and neighbors—were invited to partake of the meal in the afternoon at the houses of the alfereces. The nakawanehetik and b'alnialetik, rela-

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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805 lating the time of day; when I questioned them as to the hour, they were often as much as an hour off, usually behind.

Most activities are ordered with reference to the Gregorian calendar, but the twenty-day Maya calendrical month, defined as "twenty days or a month" is used in much the same way that we use "a fortnight." The In-
805 dians consider the moon to be an uncertain indicator of time, since "she
821 does not walk well." But the moon is important in the culture: people note its different phases and are especially aware of the phase under which a child is born—an important sign for the newborn's future. If a baby is
[856] born at the full moon, he is expected to mature more readily. The full
[787] moon also signifies a propitious time for undertaking certain activities, such as cutting wood for the main posts of a house and cutting palm for the roof.

The Daily Schedule

512
462 Daily activities are organized by traditional economic pursuits. The woman is the first one to rise in the morning. She gets up at dawn, lights
[252] the fire, and sets a jar of water to boil for coffee. She grinds the nixtamal cooked the night before on the stone grinding board, or takes it to the mill
[412] in the center. She then makes tortillas either by hand or with a press; a re-
[177] cent innovation made of two hinged pieces of wood in which the ball of
[178] dough is set between pieces of plastic paper.

The men of the household are served first, followed by the boys; the
[264] women and girls eat last. As soon as they have eaten, the men and boys who have finished the required three years of schooling go out to the
[481] fields to work. They walk single file even in the streets of the town, the fa-
[482] ther preceding his sons. Each carries a machete, net bag, tumpline, and
[411] sheepskin back-protector if he plans to carry any loads. Many bring shot-
[224] guns as well in order to hunt for field rats, raccoon, or the burrowing animals they find in the fields.

After the men leave, the women go to the porch and "seize their work."
[857] The children go to school, which begins at eight-thirty in the morning
[872] and continues until five o'clock in the evening. They return home for
[264] lunch, a meal of tortillas, coffee, and sometimes beans or chayote when it is in season.

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Women work steadily at making pottery. Older girls help with household tasks from the time they are six in order to permit their mothers to make pottery. They bring the water from the faucets installed at every other corner of the streets in the center, degrain corn, and when they are about ten years of age assist in grinding corn or bring the cooked corn to the mill. In three-generation families, the older woman tends to the tasks of preparing the meals while the younger women make pottery.

The men work uninterruptedly at agricultural tasks, taking only a noon break to eat a lunch of tortillas, coffee, and sometimes beans. During periods of intensive activity, women or children bring a hot lunch to the fields. At about three-thirty they return home, sometimes stopping to collect firewood along the way. When they arrive home, there are no greetings. They deposit their loads of harvested crops, firewood, or *zacate* (leaves and grasses to pack pottery). The children pick these up and bring them into the kitchen with no words spoken. The men sit on the bench of the porch, sometimes assisting their wives with degraining, and "rest their heart" until supper is served about six o'clock. The final task of the day is cooking the nixtamal for the following day's meals. The family retires about eight o'clock.

The weekly scheduling of household celebrations indicates the thorough absorption of the Catholic calendar into the social schedules of the town. The choice of Saturday and Sunday for most household celebrations is geared to a week in which Sunday is a day of rest.

Other significant days of the week are Thursday and Friday. Thursday is thought to be the day when "the earth is open." House curing fiestas are scheduled on this day since the earth of the house floor can receive its gift of liquor. This is also the appropriate day to visit the caves to ask for crops and cattle, or to make payment with candles. Friday has a sacred quality because of the crucifixion, but except during Holy Week and Lent the townspeople ignore any proscription on eating meat.

The Annual Cycle

The annual ceremonial cycle of religious rituals and life crisis events establish the pattern by which the people schedule their economic activities. Since the township gained dependence in 1931, there is no forced labor on

7t Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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These time and space patterns provide the individual with a cognitive structure which enables him to function appropriately in a given setting and to plan his future actions. Having one piece of information, people can derive the other understandings necessary to adjust their own behavior to the expectations of others.

Time as a measure of value has been affected by changes occurring in the past two decades. Men are less willing to expend time in ceremonial activities than formerly. The first ceremony given up was Carnival, which has not been celebrated for over a decade. Most recently, young men have refused to become alfereces, and their resistance on the basis of loss of time and money was formally recognized in 1966 when the institution was abolished. The resistance parents used to show to their children spending, or wasting their time in school has given way as some of the more modernized parents have seen the advantages of education.

The tempo of life has accelerated with the increasing importance of bus and truck transportation to market. Women's time has always figured as importantly as that of the men because of their pottery production, and they have quickly accepted time-saving innovations such as the tortilla press and the corn-grinding mill. They have not shown any inclination to adopt time-saving technology, such as the potter's wheel, in pottery-making since they have no knowledge of it, and using it would require relearning basic tasks.

The ceremonial cycle still provides the major consideration in programming other activities in the community. The Indian as an agriculturalist remains master of his own time, and he plans his work so that he can fulfill his ceremonial obligations.

351 592 571 When the people in two adjacent sitios have close social ties, they open an interior gate in the common fence, connecting the two yards. June Nash has noticed that if any disagreement [578] occurs between the people residing in the two contiguous sitios, the interior gates are barricaded even more strongly than the remainder of the fence, symbolically severing social communication (Nash, J: 1959).

351 592 Inside the sitios, there are several areas of activity [343] (see Fig. 10): the front yard (ti?naje) where animals are tied [342] when brought to the sitio, where corn is put to dry, etc., and where there are buildings (hna) such as the cook-house and others [241] which serve as sleeping quarters. The back yard is the place where things are stored and where a small garden is cultivated. [415] There are other spots, such as the place for the water jugs, the [252] place for washing the mixtamal (corn mesh used for making tortillas), [343] the sweat bath, etc.

342 The buildings themselves are mainly wattle and daub with thatch or palm roofs in the traditional Mayan pattern. There is, nevertheless, some variation in the use of cane, shingles and planks for walls, or tile roofs, which indicates a desire to imitate ladino ways rather than the wealth of the household. The houses have small porches which serve as "living room," places for receiving visitors, grooming, cleaning corn, or enjoying the twilight after a good day's work (see Figs. 10 and 11).

House Ritual

342 592 The building of a new house is an important social event

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 109]

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo?ontahal

Appendix 1 — CHANGE OF OFFICIALS IN THE TOWNHALL

Question	Informant 3 General Description	Informant 2 Case: entry of first judge	Observation Case: January 1, 1965
1. When do they change the officials?'	On January 1, *?aẽ ha?hil* (New Year)	First of January	I observed the preparations for the New Year change of office fiesta in the houses of the president and of the new first policeman on December 31, 1964, and January 1, 1965
2. What do they do first on the fiesta of changing of officials?	They arrange the house of each official	The wife of the first judge puts the bean tortillas on the fire	
3. When do they do this?	In the afternoon of December 31	In the morning of the last day of December	The women spend most of the morning and afternoon making the bean tortillas
4. How do they arrange the house?	They get juniper boughs and needles and put them in the house		Around 8 P.M. the visitors arrive. The house is decorated with pine needles on the floor and in the yard, and there are branches of juniper nailed to the posts of the house entry, just as it is done at the entry to the townhall. I was not present at the gathering
5. Who helps her?		All her relatives (*kermanotak*) with neighbors (see Chart 1)	
6. What do they do in the afternoon?		The women eat	
7. What time do the guests gather in the house of the new officials?	On December 31 at 7 P.M.		
8. What do they bring?	They arrive with wood and pitchpine	They bring wood or pitchpine	
9. What do the visitors do?	They drink coffee with bread and bean tortillas	They say greetings. They drink coffee and eat bean tortillas	
10. What do they do when they finish the coffee?	They drink liquor	They take out liquor, and the judge recites the benediction	
11. Who is present in the house of the new official?		*tatal nakawane*, his leading house official, Baltol Kantiron. The new judge, Santos Kantiron, *balnul*, assistants to pass gruel, sons of the new officials *?ak'a?etik*: wood bringers (see Chart 2)	
12. What do they do first on New Year's day?	The fourth regidor calls everyone together	The fourth regidor raises all the new officials	

794			
796	19. Where do they drink it?	Behind the church	In the house of the *ʾalíʾbal*
124	20. Where do the old mayordomos eat the common meal?	In the church	In the house of the *ʾalíʾbal*
[273]	21. What do they eat?	Male turkey (*mam koʀ*). Beef soup with tortillas and chile	
[264]			
[262]	22. How do they prepare turkey?	With chile, *yerba buena* and salt	
[263]	23. Who prepares the meal for the fiesta of San Pedro and San Pablo?	The *ʾalíʾbal*. The wife of the *lúkʔtal* (minor) mayordomo of San Pedro and San Pablo	
[252]			
	24. What do they do after the common meal?	They go to their homes	They go home
	25. What do they call the second day of the fiesta?	Wiʃperéš	
	26. What do the old mayordomos do first?	They make a fiesta. They beat the drums. They play the flute. They drink trago	They ring the bells three times. The people gather in the church
	27. What time do they begin the fiesta?	Early	At 7 o'clock
	28. What do they do in the church?		The padre gives a Mass for San Pedro and San Pablo
	29. Who collects for the Mass?		The old officials and the new officials and the women
[533]	30. Where do the mayordomos blow the flute and beat the drum?	At the door of the church	In front of the church
	31. Where do the new mayordomos gather first?	At the house of the kobraria Santa Lucia	At the house of the kobraria of Santa Lucia
	32. What do they do first?	They take out the mouthwash	They serve the mouthwash
[273]	33. What do they do then?	They take out a liter to drink	They serve coffee and corn gruel. Then they serve liquor
[272]			
[262]	34. How much do the new mayordomos drink?	Two drinks each	After two rounds are served, drink is served to the mayordomos who go to the *nakʷanchʔik* and offer their drinks. This is done so that the new officials will not be drunk in church
[273]			
	35. How many of the new mayordomos don't drink liquor?	Three	
[272]	36. What do they drink?	Cold water (soda)	
124	37. What does the kobraria of Santa Lucia say to the kobraria of San Pedro Martyr at his house when they begin to drink?	Good day, Mamal Tat. Thank you. How do you look, Mamal. Thanks you are alive, his word God, at daybreak. We want to see no illness at daybreak. What we will do what we have done. We have to say what our heart says, our sul, our mul. So it is as we did in the past. We are all together as are the old officials where we hear and see with our eyes. Where are we on the very day of his fiesta our saint and our Judge Sanpegro sanpablu? So it is that we
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